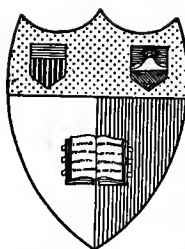


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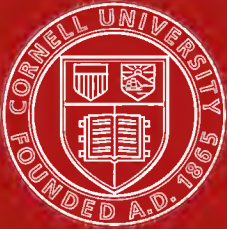
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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION
SHAKESPEARE'S 'TEMPEST'
AS ORIGINALLY PRODUCED
AT COURT

BY
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SHAKESPEARE'S 'TEMPEST' AS ORIGINALLY PRODUCED AT COURT.¹

IN these supreme days of our nation's struggle for existence and freedom, there is no direction in which we can more profitably turn for solace and distraction from our overweighted thoughts, and for support and inspiration in our hours of trial and strain, than to our great national poet, Shakespeare, in whose works, whether acted or read, while being lifted out of ourselves, we may find expressed more thoroughly and intensely than in those of any other Englishman the spirit and the feelings which animate us—his fellow countrymen—at this tremendous crisis in the fate of our—and his—beloved country.

This, it is hoped, may be sufficient apology for submitting at such a time the results of the writer's researches into the mode in which one of Shakespeare's plays was presented in his life-time, and probably under his personal superintendence, before the Court of King James at Whitehall. Especially may this be so, perhaps—small as the subject may seem, beside the vast, and ever-expanding lore, that deals with Shakespeare and his art, and insignificant as may appear the present writer's contribution towards it—if, nevertheless, it should help us, however so little, towards arriving at the right solution of that ever-present and ever-pressing problem—equally pressing for play-goers, play actors, and play producers—namely, what is, with due regard to the dramatist's work, the best and most loyal, as well

¹ Some of the information here published is an amplification of lectures delivered by the writer in February and March, 1918, to the 'Shakespeare Association,' and to the 'Shakespeare Club' of Stratford-on-Avon; and part of it originally appeared in 'The Times,' 1st November, 1911.

as the most effective and convincing mode of presenting his plays on the modern stage?

! It is now just 306 years and a half since, on 1st November, 1611, in the old banqueting-house of Whitehall Palace, on the site where stands to-day Inigo Jones's later building, there was presented by Shakespeare's Company of His Majesty's Players, before King James and his Court, that most perfect and enchanting creation of our great dramatist—the crown of his life's work—*The Tempest*.

Until recently the precise date of the composition and production of this play had remained in doubt, notwithstanding the ceaseless discussion of the problem by scholars of all nations during the last 160 years. Latterly it had been round the famous theory of the German critic, Tieck, promulgated by him at the beginning of the last century, that the controversy had mainly raged—the theory that the play, with its hymeneal masque, was written by Shakespeare in honour of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Prince Palatine in 1613.

This ingenious idea, though rather discredited for a while by the publication in 1842 of Cunningham's 'Extracts from the Revels at Court,' quickly received support again when the lists of plays in that book, which is now preserved in the Record Office, were soon after universally condemned as gross and impudent forgeries. It was adopted, for instance, by, among others, Dr. Brandes, the Danish critic, and it was the subject of a most interesting essay in the 'Universal Review' by the late Dr. Garnett, who, with a wonderful array of illustration and suggestion, elaborated the theory in such a way as to bring conviction to many minds. Even so recently as 1910 the late Mr. Henry James gave it countenance in his introduction to the play in the 'Caxton' edition. Less imaginative writers have, however, been more cautious. In America, Dr.

Furness, after marshalling all the arguments on each side in some thirty-five pages of closely-printed type in his great *New Variorum* edition, left the question still undetermined. In England, Sir Sidney Lee, whose cool judgment, tested by recent discoveries, has been rarely found at fault, rejected Tieck's and Garnett's attractive theory entirely, and pronounced decidedly for an earlier date. His view was followed, or shared, by Professor Gollancz, Professor Herford, Professor Boas, and others, and was reinforced by Mr. Morton Luce in a most penetrating and exhaustive analysis of all that bore on the subject of the origin of the play in the 'Arden' edition. And then, at last, in support of the conclusions arrived at by these critics, and finally to close the long controversy, came the universal acceptance by our leading palæographers and archivists—Dr. Wallace, Professor Feuillerat, Sir George Warner, Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, and others—and by all Shakespearean scholars throughout the world, of the fact that the supposed 'Cunningham Forgeries' were, after all, no forgeries at all, and that consequently the list of plays prefixed to the account book of Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels in 1611, was an absolutely genuine document.

The bearing of this on the question of the date of *The Tempest* will at once be made apparent by the following extracts from this 'Book of Reuells' for the year 1611-12. On page 2 is written: 'The Chardges of those times, viz: Betwine the last of Octobar 1611, Anno Reg. Regis Jacobi Nono untill the first of Novembar, 1612 . . .' and on page 3 is the heading: 'The names of the Playes And by what cumpany played them hearafter followethe . . . presented before the Kinge's Matie.,' the first item in the list being: 'By the King's Players: Hallowmas Nyght was presented att Whithall before ye Kinges Matie. a play called "The Tempest."'

The accuracy of this information is confirmed by an entry in the accounts of the 'Treasurer of the Chamber' of a payment made to Shakespeare's fellow-actors for a play on this very night (Audit Office. Declared Accounts: Bundle 389, Roll 49. For facsimiles, see the writer's, 'Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries' and 'More about Shakespeare Forgeries'):

To John Hemynges for himselfe and his fellowes the Kinges Ma^{tes} Servauntes and Players upon the Councells warrantte dated at Whitehall primo Junii, 1612, for presenting VI severall Playes before his Ma^{ty}, viz. one upon the laste of Octo^{ber}, one upon the first of November (*The Tempest*) one on the vth of November (*A Winter's Tale*), one on the 26th of Decr. . . . at twenty nobles (£6 13s. 4d.) for every play, and five markes (£3 6s. 8d.) for a reward for every play.— LX.li. (£60).

Here then we have conclusively established for us the exact date and place of production before King James and his Court of that ever delightful and most poetic of plays—in Shakespeare's presence, as we may assume, if not under his personal superintendence.

So interesting an occasion seems to warrant an attempt at reconstructing, as far as is possible, with the fragmentary matter that remains to us, the scene and circumstances of that 'first-night,' when the creator of the enchanted island and its inhabitants held 'spell-stopt' for 'at least two glasses,' by the magic of his imagination 'the King and's followers.'

Our first inquiry must be directed to identifying the site and discovering the appearance of the chamber in which the piece was staged. For this purpose original documents in the Record Office, some of them apparently never searched through before, still less transcribed or published, provide us with what we seek. Among the accounts already cited is to be found this entry (folio 26a):

To James Maxwell, gentleman usher daylie wayter to his Ma^{ty} for th' allowaunce of himselfe, one yeoman usher, three yeomen, two groomes of the chamber, two groomes of the warderobe, and one groome porter for making ready the Banquetting House there (at Whitehall) three several tymes for playes VI daies . . . mense Octobr et Novembr, 1611.

Now 'the Banquetting House' here referred to was the one built by order of King James in 1606-7, but burnt down some ten years afterwards. References to it among the 'Works and Buildings' accounts prove that it stood on the site of the famous building whence Charles I stepped forth to the scaffold.]

This being so, one cannot but pause to think how impossible it would have been for the little Prince Charles, then just eleven years old, seated there that night listening to the play, with his father and mother and his elder brother, Henry Prince of Wales, beside him, to have imagined that thirty-eight years later he would, as King, be hurried across that very spot where he was then sitting, out into the street—to the block!

[This earlier Banqueting House, though inferior in architecture to its successor, was yet a fine building. It was some 160 or 170 feet long by 50 or 60 feet wide; with a richly carved and decorated open roof, supported by columns, between which on both sides were galleries with raised tiers of seats for the spectators. It was reared expressly for the exhibition of plays and masques and shows, being in effect, though not in name, a theatre, differing in little from our modern public theatres, and still less from those of the later years of the seventeenth century as well as of the eighteenth century. Its stage was very large—larger than most of those of the public theatres of the time, such as the 'Swan,' the 'Curtain,' the 'Rose,' the Blackfriars,' or the 'Globe,' being 40 feet square, and standing 3 feet high.] Moreover it seems to have had sides of solid partitions and something of a proscenium also; and

being thus—unlike the open-air theatres—detached from the audience, which sat entirely in front of it, it must have afforded full scope for scenic illusion and the presentment of 'tableaux' on a scale and in a setting of unprecedented splendour. It was thus in every way suitable for the presentation of such a play as *The Tempest*, with its frequent spectacular effects—storms with thunder and lighting and rain, spirit appearances and 'monstrous shapes,' phantom banquets, 'marvellous sweet music.'

Then at the disposal of the actors were all the properties, scenery, and dresses of the Revels Office, and all the resources and contrivances invented by Inigo Jones for the Royal Masques.

Not that we are to infer from all this that *The Tempest* was specially composed for performance, in the first instance, at Court. On the contrary, it seems certain, for many reasons, that none of Shakespeare's later plays were first produced on any other stage than that of one or other of the two theatres owned by his company—'The Globe' or 'Blackfriars.' Only after a piece had received the stamp of public approval and had undergone the perfecting process of frequent public acting was it presented before the Sovereign. There are many considerations, indeed, rendering it almost certain that it was at the 'Blackfriars' which stood, as is well known, on the exact site of the present offices of 'The Times' newspaper—that *The Tempest* was first put on the stage, in the spring or early summer of 1611. Little more than a year before this the Burbages, who were the freeholders, had bought out their lessee, 'The Master of the Queen's Children of the Revels'—'The Boy Players'—and resumed possession and 'placed in it,' as their descendants phrased it some four-and-twenty years later, 'men players'—'those worthy men'—'which were Hemynges, Condall, Shakespeare, etc.' Glad, indeed, must they all have been to displace the

‘aëry of children, little eyases,’ who had so long trenched on their profits, and to acquire a house affording fuller scope than ‘The Globe,’ for gratifying the growing taste for spectacular display.

For this reason, if for no other, it is exceedingly probable that when Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest* he did so with the view of its being acted before the higher class of playgoers who frequented the ‘Blackfriars’—the first of the closed, roofed-in houses, called ‘Private’ Theatres, of which the prototypes in structure and general conditions were the Great Halls of Greenwich, Hampton Court and Whitehall. Already, in fact, it would seem, ‘The Globe’ on the Surrey side was beginning to be looked upon as the home of transpontine, rather than of high-class drama.

It is likely enough, indeed, that *The Tempest*—with the *Winter’s Tale*—was Shakespeare’s contribution towards the Burbages’ new venture, and the consideration for the ‘Founders’ Shares’—as they were in effect—allotted to the dramatist by his fellow shareholders—the ‘adventurers’ as they were then called, the ‘promoters,’ as we should call them now—if, indeed, he was not himself the chief promoter and chairman of the syndicate—in the ‘Blackfriars sub-company,’ an off-shoot of the ‘Parent’ Company of the King’s Comedians. Put in this way, it will be seen that Shakespeare was up to, if he was not the original inventor of, the most modern and astute of the devices of our financial experts in the City of London.

Also, it may be noticed—though this is a mere piece of negative evidence—that Dr. Simon Forman, the astrologist and quack doctor, who described in his note-book performances of four of Shakespeare’s plays witnessed by him at ‘The Globe’ in April and May, 1611, makes no mention of *The Tempest* at all. More convincing, however, if not conclusively so, is the statement of Dryden, writing in 1669, in the preface to

his own mangled version of the play, that Shakespeare's original composition 'had formerly been acted with success at the Black Fryers.' It seems probable, therefore, almost to the point of certainty, that it was on the very spot where now stand the offices of 'The Times' newspaper that those immortal beings, Prospero and Antonio, Miranda and Ferdinand, Ariel and Caliban, were first introduced to the people of London by their creator, just about six months earlier than they made their appearance at Whitehall before the King and Queen.

Apart from all its matchless qualities as a superb piece of dramatic invention, sublimated by poetic imagery, the play doubtless owed much of its immediate success and popularity, not only to the musical and scenic effects with which it was mounted, but also, and perhaps as much, to the topical nature of many of its incidents and allusions—in which were reflected the thoughts and feelings then uppermost in the mind of the public, equally with the Court. For although, as has been already shown, its composition can have had nothing to do with the wooing of the Princess Elizabeth by the Prince Palatine, Royal marriages were in the air. Already suitors were numerous for the hand of the little Princess, and many alliances were being offered also for the young Prince of Wales. This appears from the despatches of the foreign Ambassadors in England, which are full of the subject, especially in the few weeks previous to the play's being acted at Court. They are likewise full, as are also the private letters of the time, of the wrecking of Sir George Somers' flagship, bound for the plantation of Virginia, on the Bermudas—'the still-vexed Bermoothes.' The ideas and phrases adopted by Shakespeare from several of the pamphlets about that event, which appeared in the autumn of 1610, prove that he shared the popular excitement, or at least made use of it for giving a

topical flavour to his new play. That he was keenly interested, also, in every particular of the terrible tempest, and the adventures of the wrecked crew, for ten months castaways on the 'Ile of Divils,' is likewise proved by his having read, as we know he must, in the original manuscript now in the British Museum, William Strachey's journalistic letter—or 'true reportory,' as he termed it—written from Virginia on 15th July, 1610, to some 'excellent lady' in London. For phrase after phrase that occurs in the play is to be found in the 'reportory,' though it was not printed until fifteen years after by Purchas in his 'Pilgrimes.'

When Strachey, who, by the way, was himself a bit of a poet, as well as a descriptive reporter, came back to London towards the end of 1611, he stayed in a 'lodginge in the Blacke-friars,' close to where *The Tempest* was then being acted, and close to where Shakespeare soon after purchased a house. It was, probably, therefore, by the courtesy of a common friend that Shakespeare was able to read Strachey's private letter about the great tempest of 1609 and the wreck off the Bermudas.

The great interest aroused in London by all this 'Newes from Virginia,' and 'Newes from the Bermudas,' can have moved no one more than the young Prince Henry, who, with his imagination already fired by the narratives of maritime adventure and stories of desert islands and the mysterious dangers of the Western seas, was himself planning a project for a new expedition to the colony—a project mentioned by the Venetian Ambassador in a letter to the Doge and Seignory on the very day the play was produced at Whitehall. No one, therefore, was more likely than him to desire to see *The Tempest* acted; and the Lord Chamberlain would have had this in mind when consulting about a suitable play for Hallowmas Night with the Master of the Revels and Burbage or Shakespeare. Between

them, with the assistance of Inigo Jones and his men from the Office of Works, they would have made all the necessary arrangements in the Banqueting House, which, from its large size and regular stage and fittings—as already described—was just the sort of theatre required for a spectacular piece like this.

The general theatric conditions of the performance of one of Shakespeare's plays before the Court, and the particular circumstances of the staging of *The Tempest*, now require to be noticed.

To begin with, it may here be remarked that the fact of all representations of plays at Court taking place *at night*, is one of the chief and most pregnant of several differences, distinguishing them from performances in the public theatres; strongly influencing the subsequent development of the arts both of playwright and players; aiding, in fact, that gradual transformation of the 'drama of rhetoric' into the more detached, emotional and pictorial presentations of modern times. In this process, the effect of the use of artificial lighting on the stage, resulting—as it surely must—in stimulating the senses and exalting the imagination of the spectator, while heightening the theatrical illusion, was the most obvious, if not one of the most potent of them all.

Moreover, there is the fact that the Banqueting House was—owing to its solid walls and reverberant roof—an admirable place for hearing; and, therefore, certain to modify the players' method of delivery, substituting for that loud, declamatory, blatant style of histrionics, so common on the public open theatres, that 'tearing a passion to pieces,' which so greatly distressed the Lord Hamlet, and which would have been as much out of place as ineffective in the refined atmosphere of a performance before the Court—a restrained and quieter style, wherewith the more delicate gradations of thought, and the subtler shades of feeling, could be more intimately suggested.

Finally, the oblong shape of the Banqueting House, with the stage at one end, and the audience in front of it, tended towards that shrinking of the platform towards the proscenium or inner stage, which thenceforth proceeded unremittingly until our day. Already, even in the time of Queen Elizabeth, as well as in the earlier years of James I, before the full influence of the elaborate spectacular Court Masques had made itself felt, the *mise-en-scène* at the Palace was the very antithesis of that mere platform, entirely bare of any scenery or accessories, and devoid of all mechanism, imagined for us by some critics as the invariable condition under which all Shakespearian representations took place, until the suppression of the theatres in 1642. Disregarding other evidence, how should we otherwise explain the explicit statements of successive Masters of the Revels (*R.O. Audit Office Accounts—Various*. Bundles 1213, etc.) that among their chief duties was the :

ffurnishing, fitting and setting foorth of sundry Tragedies, Playes, etc., with their apte howses of paynted canvas and properties incident suche as mighte most lyvely expresse the effect of the histories plaied

and also the providing of :

apt howses made of canvasse, fframed ffashioned and paynted accordingly as mighte beste serve theier severall purposes.

Can we suppose that among the 'painted cloths for the Musick House and stage at Court,' specially made and provided by the Master of the Revels in this particular year, there were not some that 'might most lyvely expresse the effect of' *The Tempest*? Or that the vast collection of such 'painted cloths' and 'framed canvasses,' as were stored in the Office-House of the Revels—including such things as trees, clouds, mountains, woods, forests, caves, rocks, etc.,—were not requisitioned, 'as

they might best serve the purpose' of exhibiting Prospero's enchanted island? When we find that in a play acted before Queen Elizabeth in the Great Hall of Hampton Court 'a wilderness' was represented by three dozen forest trees, are we to believe that Shakespeare's *Tempest* put on the great stage of the Banqueting House at Whitehall 30 years later was not mounted with an equal regard for realism?

The truth, indeed, seems to be *not* so much that there was *no* scenery as that there was little, if any, change of scene—the various localities of the whole play being all shown simultaneously—known as 'multiple setting' or 'Décor simultané'—so that the utmost adaptation that could be attempted was the occasional drawing of a 'painted cloth,' illustrative of a different place, in front of such portions of the setting as were not then applicable. In this respect, however, *The Tempest*—all its action going on in the open air on an island—can have offered but few difficulties to Shakespeare's or Sir George Buc's scene-shifters.

Turning now to describe the particular scenery set up for this play that night, we may say for certain that at the back of the main part of the stage was the usual 'inner stage,' which would have served for Prospero's cell; while overhead was probably the place where Prospero appeared in person more than once 'above invisible'—as the stage direction puts it—perhaps through a transparency. Not far from it must have been the rock from which Caliban comes forth, and which was evidently a visible tangible thing; for it is referred to distinctly by Prospero—'wherefore thou art deservedly confined in this *rock*,' and, pointedly, also, by Caliban;—'Here you sty me in this *hard rock*, while you do keep from me the rest of the island.' On another side may have been represented 'the lime-grove that weather fended his cell'—by practical trees. And the efforts of the Revels men may not have ended

there; for they perhaps even showed a distant landscape, and 'the rocky marge' and 'yellow sands' of 'the never surfeiting sea.'

In this play, therefore, there would have been little need for those 'locality boards' which frequently were put up for the information of the audience; and of which Mr. W. J. Lawrence has given us an account in his two exceedingly interesting volumes on 'The Elizabethan Stage,'—one of the valuable publications, by the way, of the Shakespeare Head Press.

Scenes in 'another part of the island' would have been quite sufficiently notified by drawing across the mouth of the cell or cave a 'traverse,' painted or plain. Such devices and 'locality boards' were resorted to, as much owing to the absence of programmes as to the inadequacy of the scenery. To the King and Queen, however, were usually presented a fine illuminated 'table,' or synopsis of the characters and plot; and occasionally, also, a copy of the words of the songs.

Across the top of the stage—'highest and aloft'—to use a phrase of the Revels men—would have been fixed a large title-board with the name of the play—*The Tempest*—decoratively painted on it.

Here again, I can claim the authority of Mr. Lawrence's admirable works in confirmation and amplification of my own researches.

Now, the suggestions just made made as to the scenic conditions under which Shakespeare's last play was presented at Court are so far rather presumptions than ascertained facts. But it is possible, I think, to arrive at a more precise and definite idea of the general setting of the stage on that night.

For we happen to have a description of a scenic arrangement for three masques acted a year and three months after in the same Banqueting House, and for one two years after, and on the same stage, which it seems highly probable was nearly the same, if not exactly the

same, as that used for *The Tempest*. The masques were Thomas Campion's *Masque of Lords*, Chapman's of the *Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, and Beaumont's of the *Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, all three presented in February, 1613; and another of Campion's, at the end of the same year—on St. Stephen's night—in honour of the marriage of the Earl of Somerset to Lady Elizabeth Howard, the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex.

A full description of the scenery in this last is to be found in Campion's own preface. That in it we may see a picture of the stage as it appeared on Halloween night, 1611, is the more likely, in that a very similar scene is described in Prince Henry's masque of *Oberon*, by Ben Jonson, presented in the Banqueting House ten months *before The Tempest*—not to mention like similarities in the less important masques in the interval between these dates, affording us good reason for suspecting that the arrangements were more or less permanent, or, at any rate, that the scenery for each play or masque was made up from stock stuff belonging to the Office of Revels, there being in the descriptions of all of these masques mention of *rocks* and a *seashore*; *clouds*, a *cave* and a *wood*.

Campion, after noting that the upper part of the house, where the Royal dais or 'state' was placed, was 'theatred with pillars, scaffolds and all things answerable to the sides of the room,' proceeds to describe how at the lower end

before the sceane, was made an arch tryumphall, passing beautifull, which enclosed the whole works—

evidently like a modern proscenium. He goes on to say:

The sceane itself, the curtaine being drawne, was in this manner divided—on the upper part there was formed a skye with cloudes very arteficially shadowed; on either side of the scene below was set a high promontory . . . one

bounded with a rocke standing in the sea, the other with a wood; in the midst betweene them appeared a sea in perspective with ships, some cunningly painted, some artifiically sayling.

And now comes a rather remarkable thing. Campion was not by any means satisfied with this scenery, so described by him, for his masque. He had at first instructed an Italian architect, M. Constantine, to provide something finer and more elaborate. But they fell out. The Italian 'failed in the assurance he gave,' and declining 'to be drawn to impart his intentions,' the poet dispensed with his services and had to content himself with a less ambitious scheme, falling back evidently on what was already at hand on the stage of the Banqueting House, and which he describes in the words just quoted.

Significant, too, is it that in apologising for these shortcomings, as he thought them, in the scenery, he gives as one of the causes:

That our modern writers have rather transferred their fictions to the persons of Enchanters and Commanders of Spirits—

so that

in imitation of them he had founded his whole invention upon enchantments and severall transformations.

Here, surely, is as plain a reference to the influence of Shakespeare's Prospero and his enchanted island as one might very well expect to have. Further than this the speeches of Campion's masques abound in phrases and ideas evidently inspired, if not copied, from *The Tempest*—such as 'a storme confus'd against our tackle beat, severing the ships' . . . 'about our deckes and hatches' . . . 'all was husht, as storme had never beene' . . . 'for while the Tempest's fiery rage increast.' There are even two or three words here and there reminiscent of the stage directions in the

First Folio, which, taken with the parallel passages in the text, almost make one suspect the existence of an unknown quarto of *The Tempest*, of which some lurking copy may yet be discovered.

Considering next the lighting of the auditorium and the stage: these were alike brilliantly illuminated with candelabra, candle-rings and 'fairy lights,' 'pendant by subtle magic' from invisible wires, stretched overhead, from rafter to rafter, of the roof; and shedding a soft glow, 'as from a sky'; though, at the same time, we know that occasionally the whole house was darkened to heighten the tragic effect. As it happened in this particular year, in view, perhaps, of this very production, and of that of *The Winter's Tale* four days after, there was a complete renovation of all the lighting arrangements of the theatre at a cost equivalent to about £400 at the present day.

Another important element in this first performance of *The Tempest* at Whitehall was the 'Musick-Howse' by the stage, in which were stationed the King's band of some thirty or forty musicians. Here they played not only during, but also between, the acts. For whatever may have been the custom in the public theatres, the evidence bearing on the acting of plays at Court gives as little countenance to the theory of invariable 'continuous action' as it does to that of a scene-less stage. Sometimes this 'inter-act music' was accompanied by the handing round of refreshments to the audience—especially when there were foreign guests present; some of whom, understanding little of the dialogue, probably enjoyed these interludes a good deal more than the play.

It may be observed, moreover, of *The Tempest*, that its divisions into acts, even scenes, are very far from being arbitrary or fortuitous: but that, on the contrary, they correspond with definite stages in the action and progress of the drama.

A more important function of the King's musicians in their 'Musicke Howse' was to play all that incidental 'solemn and strange music,' 'marvellous sweet music,' 'heavenly music,' of which so much is interspersed in *The Tempest*. During most of the action of the play the musicians in their gallery were evidently curtained off and unseen, breathing low, murmuring music from 'flutes and soft recorders' and lutes and 'sagbuttes,' thus enhancing the mysteriousness. In the Revels' Accounts, indeed, for this year (1611) in which *The Tempest* was produced at Court, there happens to be noted a special provision of 'a curtain of silk for the Musick House at Whitehall'—silk because, while effectively screening the musicians and singers from view, it would have offered but little obstruction to those strains of magic melody, heard by Ferdinand as it crept by him 'upon the waters,' and afterwards above him: 'those sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not,' those 'thousand twangling instruments' that, humming about the slumbering ears of Caliban, made him—when waking—but 'cry to dream again.' All this music was doubtless composed by some of the King's musicians, among whom were several excellent composers, such as Ferrabosco and Nicholas Lanieri, whose works are still delighted in by the lovers of old-time melodies.

An equally, if not more, important task of theirs was playing the accompaniment to those most exquisite lyrics, the very quintessence of poetry—Ariel's songs. Of two of these, it is interesting to note, that we may still hear the very airs sung that night three hundred years ago in Shakespeare's presence at Whitehall.

For there happen to have survived to us in Dr. John Wilson's 'Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads,' published in 1660, his harmonised scores of the beautiful original setting for 'Full Fathom Five,' and 'Where the Bee sucks,' attributed by him in his manuscript to Robert Johnson,

a well-known lutenist, who was in the service of Prince Henry in this very year, 1611. These two facts have been already known for some little time, but I have discovered from a reference to Johnson in the accounts of the 'Treasurer of the Chamber' that he became 'one of the consortes of his Maties musicyans' in this same year—affording confirmation, if any were needed, of Wilson's statement, and suggesting that he was taken into the King's service in connection with his music for this particular performance of *The Tempest*. Johnson's beautiful melodies, it may be noted, were sung at the meeting of the British Academy at Burlington House in July, 1910, when M. Jusserand, now the French Ambassador at Washington, delivered his address on Shakespeare.

The first Ariel to sing those enchanting songs was no doubt 'the principal boy' at the new 'Blackfriars,' probably one of the 'Children of the Queen's Majesty's Revels,' taken over into Shakespeare's Company when they resumed possession of that theatre. This part, indeed, ought never to be played at all except by a boy in his early 'teens. Shakespeare and his fellow-actors, could they revisit the London stage, would probably have much more difficulty in understanding our modern ineptness of setting a grown-up young woman to personate that 'spirit of air,' than we can have in understanding their practice of entrusting Miranda's part to 'a squeaking boy,' for which could, at any rate, be pleaded the inexorable prejudices of the times—first broken down, be it remembered, at Court by the ladies performing in the Masques.

Of the 'dressing' of the play that night we can form a very fair impression. Prospero's costume we get hints of from the text and stage directions—'Pluck my magic garment from me,' 'Resumes his mantle,' 'Enter Prospero in his magic robes,'—probably with cabalistic signs embroidered on it. That Trinculo's dress was the

fool's conventional motley we likewise gather from the text: 'What a *pied* ninny's this!' 'Thou scurvey *patch*!' cries Caliban to the 'jesting monkey.' Stephano's, too, offers no great difficulty; nor the mariner's either; Caliban's clothing seems to have been traditionally a 'bear's skin,' and over it the 'gabardine,' which Trinculo creeps under to shelter himself from the storm, and which Cotgrave defines as 'a Cloake of Felt for rainie weather.'

As for the 'garments . . . fresher than before' worn by Alonso and his followers, they would certainly have been of the Italian fashion, and not of the English of James's Court. Here again the records of the Revels come to prove that, contrary to the too generally accepted opinion, a great deal of care was devoted in all dramatic representations, to accuracy in costume, so as to make it accord with the nationality, as well as with the rank, profession or station, of each character, appearing in the piece. Not only were the ancients dressed in classical or 'antick' attire—as it was called—but Venetians in their 'Venetian weed,' and senators and councillors in the robes appropriate to their offices; while 'Almains,' 'Turks,' 'Moors,' Patriarchs and such-like, appeared in distinctive 'garmentes, vestures and apparell.' Not, of course, that Shakespeare and his fellow actor-managers, or the Masters of the Revels—'The Producers' of the Court Performances—were as scrupulously archæological in 'dressing' a play as are our present-day stage artists; but they strove after the greatest correctness possible, with such knowledge and means as they found at their disposal. For this purpose there was available, in fact, an enormous assortment of 'stuff' in the charge and custody of the Master of the Revels—'sundry garments of the store of the office'—as he phrased it—which were constantly being altered and *translated*, and which were always at the disposal of Shakespeare's company to supplement their own scarcely less rich and ample wardrobe.

From one or other of these 'fripperies' would have been brought out some 'glistering apparel' for Ariel. What his dress was on the night in question we may gather in a general way from Inigo Jones's sketch, now preserved at Chatsworth, of a costume for an 'Aery Spirit' in some play or masque, and from Ben Jonson's description of a very similar costume for 'Jophiel, an Airy Spirit,' in his masque of 'The Fortunate Isles' acted in 1626. These two authorities taken together suggest a close-fitting tunic of silk in rainbow colours, wings tintured in harmony with it, a scarf over his shoulders, buskins or blue silk stockings, and on his head a chaplet of flowers—not unlike the costume worn by Charles I when as Duke of York, and only eleven years old; he acted the character of Zephyrus in Daniel's 'Tethy's Festival'—the great Masque of Britain's Sea-Power—presented the year before *The Tempest* on the same spot in the Banqueting House—to wit, green satin, embroidered with golden flowers, with silver wings and a garland of flowers on his head.

Of the actual acting of the play that night there is little else to record: and not much about the spectators either. Prominent among them were, of course, King James and his Queen, seated in the middle of the house in chairs of State on a dais, covered with fine oriental carpets and under a rich canopy, and perhaps curtained off on either side. By them would have sat their children; and gathered around them all the most famous, great and illustrious men in England at that time—Bacon, Salisbury, Nottingham, Northampton, Pembroke, Montgomery, Southampton—whether resident in the Court or in their own houses in the Strand or about Holborn; with their wives also, of course; as well as all the most beautiful and fashionable women that London could then show. The best places were reserved for 'the best people;' while for any guests who were specially favoured, there were the private

boxes—for the foreign ambassadors, particularly, who eagerly competed for invitations for all the great shows at Court.

As to the appearance of the audience, needless to say that the gorgeousness of the costumes on the stage was more than matched by the splendour and extravagance of the dresses of the King and his courtiers. James I, who, as Wilson said of him ‘was ever of all men the moste taken with fyne clothes,’ and who loved above all things to see his minions—at that time James Hay, Earl of Carlisle and the infamous Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset—superbly clad in the richest silks and velvets, and resplendent in the jewels of fabulous price which he showered upon them, himself led the fashion. ‘The imagination’—wrote the Venetian ambassador a few days after this performance of *The Tempest*—‘could hardly grasp the gorgeousness of the spectacle. The King’s own cloak, breeches and jacket were all sewn with diamonds, a rope and jewel of diamonds also in his hat of inestimable value.’ The Queen, nothing loth to follow the lead of the men, ‘had in her hair a very great number of pear-shaped pearls, the largest and most beautiful in the world; and there were diamonds all over her person, so that she was ablaze.’ All her ladies, naturally, and the whole Court followed suit.

Besides all these leading courtiers there would also have been among the spectators the whole Royal Household, including the minor officials of the Court—gentlemen ushers, grooms of the chamber, even porters, yeomen, tiremen, etc.—together with such of their friends and relations as they could, by hook or by crook, and under the guise of all sorts of subterfuges, manage to smuggle into odd nooks and corners of the house or the stage—all eager to see, without having to pay for the privilege, the much-talked-of new play—‘the latest and most excellent and pleasant conceited comedie’—as they would have called it—‘made by

that famous and most witty poet and player Master Shaxpere and his worthy fellow that renowned tragedian Dick Burbage.'

We can imagine these denizens and hangers-on of the Court gathered together next day talking it all over, 'sitting at a round table by a sea-coal fire' in the Watching Chamber of old Whitehall 'on All Souls' night' in the year of our Lord, 1611.

We can imagine them telling their friends all about 'the magician King and his Enchanted Island, and the terrible Tempest—like unto that which wrecked Sir George's Somers' great ship off the Bermoothes, with the thunder and the lightning and the rain, all like unto real thunder, and real lightning and real rain, and the mysterious spirits, which float about and then of a sudden vanish into air; and the monstrous shapes, which dance around the magic banquet with mops and mows, and many other phantom things, which awe and amaze; and the marvellous magical music, so sweet and beautiful, which seems to come from nowhere; and the dazzling lights and then the black darkness! And who has not heard of the wrecked King's ridiculous drunken butler, who thought to be himself King of the Island, and of the fool in his motley, with his witty sayings; and the strange wild man and his wicked imaginings—truly a fearsome monster with a face like a man, but claws like a bear and fins like a fish; and the talkings of these three together, which ever called forth shrieks of laughter, so that the players could scarce proceed!'

'Then how the rightful King gets back his throne and how his fair sweet daughter weds the bad old King's son and how all are happy ever after. Of a surety, never before was ever beheld scenes so fair, and dresses so comely, more like unto fairyland than any theatre's stage—rocks and trees and flowers, and glistening apparel of silk and velvet and broidery. They tell, indeed, at the Revels' Office at St John's, how worthy

Sir George Buc and his men were at work both night and day, for many a day, making ready all things needful thereto—more as if 'twere one of the Queen's Majesty's Royal Masques than a mere common player's Comedy.'

Thus 'would, or could or should' have gossiped such of the hangers-on of the Court as had been lucky enough to be squeezed in by kind friends into the Banqueting House the night before.

That the play was received by every section of the audience with approval, applause and delight, we have every reason to believe, knowing that it was again produced at Court, if not very soon after, certainly fourteen or fifteen months later. This was at the beginning of February, 1613, in honour of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine, already referred to at the beginning of this article. In this connection it may be observed that I have found a note in the accounts of the Master of the Revels for this year, of a special charge 'for rehearsalls and making choice of plaies and comedies, and for reforminge playes to be presented at the courte agaynst the marriadge of the Ladye Elizabeth to the Prince Palatine.' Among these plays and comedies as many as twenty were acted by the King's Company, no less than eight of them being Shakespeare's; and as we happen to know that he was in London on private business in the early part of the year, it is likely enough that he personally superintended their production at Court—the longer ones, perhaps, being 'reformed' by the Master of the Revels into shorter Court versions.

That among them *The Tempest* may have been subjected to some 'reformation' is possible; though this would scarcely have been in the way of curtailment, as has been suggested by Fleay and other commentators. For the play, as we have it in the First Folio, is so rigidly constructed, so compactly knit and so well-balanced, with no signs anywhere of any gaps in it—

in this respect very unlike *Macbeth*—that there seems no ground for supposing any part of Shakespeare's original text to have dropped out of it and been lost, although it is the shortest but one of any of his plays. This is the more certain owing to the fact that *The Tempest* is almost the only one of them of which it can be said that the dramatic 'unities' are strictly observed in it; still more so that this observance was evidently intentional and designedly made plain on the part of the dramatist, emphasized by him, as it is, several times in the course of the play, not only by the significance of the action being confined to a small island, but also by reiterated references to 'What's the time of day,' and the insistence by Prospero that the time-limit of his work, leading to the denouement of the drama, must not exceed 'three glasses.'

The 'reforming' of *The Tempest*, however—if it was reformed at all—although unlikely to have been by way of abridgement, may well have been in that of addition. Indeed, there is every ground for suspecting that the masque in the fourth act as we have it now, ostensibly as an integral, though really a subsidiary part of the play, was an addition interpolated into the original text of 1611, for the performance at Court in 1613—interpolated, in fact, in honour of the nuptials of the young Princess and her affianced husband the Count Palatine. It was by that very acute critic Fleay, in his 'Chronicle History of the Life and Works of Shakespeare,' published in 1886, that currency was first given to this idea of the origin of the masque. To this extent, we may, indeed, admit that Tieck, Dr. Garnett and the rest were on the right tack: though this is, of course, a very different thing from accepting their theories as to the origin and date of the whole play.

On this point of the origin of the masque: I doubt whether any one interested in the question, who should take down Nichols' 'Progresses of James I' and read

through, in the second volume, the three several masques performed in honour of that marriage, with all the curious descriptions of them, and the letters of the time about them, could come to any other conclusion but this: that the masque in *The Tempest*—that is to say its spoken verse—is likewise connected with that event by the closest links. The similarities—not to say identities—in ideas, expressions, phrases, poor, indeed, as they are in all four masques, are unmistakeable: convincing one that whoever may have been the author of this particular masque worked on common lines of conventional compliment with the others. Moreover, many of the characters represented in these masques are the same classical deities, and their procedure actuated by the same devices. Everything, in fact, seems definitely to exclude any probability that this masque in Shakespeare's play—certainly the part of it in which Iris and the two goddesses converse—can have been composed in 1611, or indeed, for any occasion whatever, or for any purpose whatever, other than 'a contract of true love to celebrate,' ostensibly, no doubt, the one between Miranda and Ferdinand, but primarily and by plain implication, the one between Elizabeth and Frederick as well. That such a contract was of the very essence of the scheme and plot of the play as originally written, was, on this supposition, a mere coincidence, of which advantage was taken in 1613 to enhance the topical interest of the piece.

All this, however, does not answer the further question that has been raised, as to whether Shakespeare himself was really the author of this masque at all—a distinct and very much more difficult problem. Here again Fleay was the first formally to propound a doubt on the subject; and he was followed by the editors of the 'Cambridge Shakespeare' in 1891. Before Fleay, however, a great many people, and since Fleay, a great

many more, have felt that in its pointless, rather banal dialogue, and its halting, rhymed decasyllabics, we have something very far removed from any of Shakespeare's usual styles, altogether most unworthy and unlikely stuff to have come from the pen of the poet, who was capable, at the same time, of writing so superb and incomparably beautiful a dramatic poem as *The Tempest*.

Fleay's theory—often quoted with approval since by competent critics—was that Beaumont was the real author of this *Tempest* masque, citing in support of it several very striking parallel passages between it and that dramatist's 'Inner Temple and Gray's Inn' masque, 'whereof Sr Fra. Bacon was the chiefe contriver,' written for Shrove Tuesday, 16th February, though not acted until Saturday, the 20th.

A more recent suggestion is that of the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson, M.P., who, in his remarkable book on 'Shakespeare and Chapman' (published in 1917) puts forward a strong case for Chapman as the author. In support of it he analyses the sixty-eight rhymed lines of the masque, and finds no less than eighteen words, which do not occur anywhere else in the plays attributed to Shakespeare, though most of them are to be found in Chapman's works. Further, he finds similar coincidences and many singular resemblances in the compound words, which are so noticeable a peculiarity of this masque, and which, though not occurring anywhere else in any of the plays, are, many of them, paralleled, if not exactly to be found, in Chapman's works.

This theory and these arguments of Mr. Robertson's may, I think, be reinforced by parallel passages—almost, if not quite, as remarkable as those in Beaumont's masque—in Chapman's 'Memorable Masque of the Two Honourable Hovses or Innes of Court, the Middle Temple and Lyncolnes Inne,' presented at Whitehall on Shrove Monday, the 15th of February, 1613.

Whatever weight—or whether any weight at all—should be given to these several points, the supposition on either of these theories would be that Chapman—or Beaumont—with or without Shakespeare's assent—even without his cognizance if he happened to be absent from London at that time—was employed, either by Hemynges or Burbage on behalf of the King's Company, or, otherwise, by the Master of the Revels when 'reforming' *The Tempest*—to insert in it a topical masque in honour of the Royal nuptials. Then, once having formed part of the play, there would naturally have arisen among the 'Blackfriars' audiences a desire to witness the masque, invested, as it would have been, with the prestige of having been acted before the Court. In this way it would have become permanently incorporated in the prompter's acting copy of the text. This, in brief, is the case for another hand but Shakespeare's.

Other distinguished scholars, however, such as Professor Morton Luce in his analysis of the play in the 'Arden' edition, referred to at the beginning of this article, and Professor Boas, in his most cogent and illuminating study of the play in the 'Warwick' edition, have not been disposed to endorse Fleay's scepticism, or to admit any other but Shakespeare's own handiwork in the masque—though, it must be remembered, they wrote before Mr. Robertson had put forward his claim for Chapman.

'Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.' But I may, perhaps, venture to submit with diffidence, a theory of my own, which, to a certain extent, would seem to reconcile the various divergent views of so many learned and acute commentators, leaving to them to determine what value it may possess.

Briefly, my proposition is this: that though the rhymed verses and the song in the Masque were interpolated in 1613 into the original text, there was at this point, in the fourth act, from the very first production

of the play at the Blackfriars, revelling and dancing of spirits.

Fleay's idea was that 'the mythological personages in the original play acted in dumb show'; and in support of it, he referred to the stage direction 'Juno descends' at line 81, while in the added verses the words are 'great Juno comes,' and Ceres knows 'her by her gait'—as if implying that originally Juno came down from the skies, lowered, he seems to suggest, 'in a creaking throne the boys to please,' while in the amended Masque she merely walked on. But in this Fleay betrays ignorance of the almost invariable procedure in masques with classical characters, which was that the gods or goddesses or other characters were beheld some little time before they came on to the stage proper, descending from on high at the extreme back of the Inner Stage by means of 'winding staires by whose greeces (steps) the persons above might make their descents and all the way be scene.' These words are taken from the descriptive introduction to Chapman's 'Memorable Masque,' and as there were such stairs at the back of the Inner Stage of the Banqueting House, they would apply equally well to the entry of Juno, if not to that of Ceres also, in the *Tempest* Masque.

The convention had its origin in the first true Jacobean Masque ever acted—Daniel's 'Vision of the Twelve Goddesses' presented in the Great Hall at Hampton Court on Sunday, 8th January, 1604—a Masque, by the way, which Shakespeare must have witnessed, for he was staying in the Palace at the time; and which the writer of *The Tempest* Masque—whoever he may have been—must have been well acquainted with, especially as it had been printed and published in 1604, and because there are several points of marked resemblance between the two masques.

Altogether, there really seems no adequate reason for, nor any particular probability in, Fleay's suggestion that

the classical characters in this masque were originally acted in dumb show: every reason, indeed, as I shall show, that they never did anything of the sort.

At the same time, it would not—even if proved—render in the least less likely the theory I have ventured to put forward, namely, that a show of spirits, revelling and dancing, formed part of the original play. Several phrases in Prospero's and Ariel's speeches indeed seem clearly to point to this. Thus, Prospero, at the beginning of the fourth act, just before the masque, says to Ariel:

‘Thou and thy *meaner fellows* your last service
Did worthily perform; and I must use you
In *such another trick*—’

evidently referring to the bringing in and removing of the magic banquet at the end of the third scene in the third act, by ‘several strange shapes’—‘of monstrous shape,’ says Gonzalo—who are there referred to by Prospero as ‘my *meaner ministers*’ and by Ariel as ‘my *fellow ministers*.’

They appear, it will be remembered, twice in the third act, bringing the banquet in and dancing about it ‘with gentle actions of salutation,’—as the stage direction in the first folio says—and afterwards carrying the table out, and *dancing* with ‘*mocks and mows*.’ Now this exactly corresponds with the words in which Ariel in the fourth act receives Prospero's charge, just before the masque:

Each one, *tripping on his toe*
Will be here with *mop and mow*.

Again, Prospero instructing Ariel how he is to perform ‘such another trick,’ says to him:

Go bring *the rabble*,
O'er whom I gave thee power, here to this place:
Incite them to *quick motion*.

Can Prospero and Ariel, I would ask, have been anticipating in all this the solemn stately Masque of mythological characters that follows in the play as we now have it—the 'most majestic vision,' as Ferdinand afterwards calls it? Can they, when using these words and phrases, have been thinking—or rather can Shakespeare have been thinking when he put them into the mouths of his actors—of anything else, or of preparing his audience for anything else, but a dumb show of a rabble of 'monstrous shapes,' dancing in 'quick motion' and with 'mops and mows?'

Yet, as we now have the Masque, we have instead of a *rabble*—even if the meaning of the word is only a 'crowd,' a 'gathering,' or a 'company,' with no contemptuous implication in it—three stately characters; and instead of 'quick motion' we have their dignified approach—Juno especially, 'highest Queen of State,' 'known by her gait.'

Again, at the end, after the Masque has been dissolved, Prospero says: 'Our *revels* now are ended.' But masques, especially of the classical and stately sort, were not often, if ever, called 'revels.' The phrase was always 'masques *and* revels.' The word 'revels,' in fact, was applied rather to dancing, rollicking, 'mops and mows' and such like; and of these but little survives in the 'revels' in the fourth act, as we now have them, except perhaps the 'Country footing'—of the nymphs and reapers—described in the stage directions, as 'a graceful dance.' Does not all this seem plainly to point to, and is it not all very simply explicable by, the theory that the masque was just botched into the play, and substituted for the original revellings, with scarcely any alteration of the text? If so, it would reinforce the supposition that there was another hand rather than that of Shakespeare, who, one would presume, would have adapted the old to the new less clumsily, when the 'most majestic vision' was inserted out of

compliment to the Lady Elizabeth's marriage, in place of the 'revels' of Shakespeare's own original conception, which would have been appropriate enough, while not interrupting, as does the existing Masque, the progress and action of the play.

Yet one more point: Prospero, just as the masque is beginning, says to Ferdinand, 'No tongue, *all eyes*, be silent'—which seems to indicate that the show was to be something to *look at* only, not to listen to. Can such discrepancies between the dialogue before or during the masque, and the spoken masque itself, be explained on any other theory but the one just propounded?

Leaving, however, theories and literary problems to be pronounced upon by experts, let us turn to more material and positive problems. One of the first of these, which demand solution, is: on what part of the stage was the masque presented? As to this, there can be little doubt that it was presented on the Inner Stage, which, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, at any rate, certainly had a regular proscenium, and was treated separately from the rest of the stage in the way of scenery and decoration; and was revealed by the drawing aside of 'traverses' or curtains, or, perhaps, in this case, by a suddenly illuminated scene, perceived through a transparency.

It was, in fact, composed as a set-piece, though small, very like any of our modern solid-sided interiors. The development, in truth, of our present framed picture-stage may be traced quite as well by looking on it as an advance and encroachment of the Inner Stage on the old platform-stage—which it eventually absorbed altogether—as by considering it as a shrinking of the platform-stage backwards, until it was withdrawn entirely behind the proscenium, which is the usual way of presenting the case. This tendency first showed itself in the performances at Court, where it was originally and mainly due

to the scenic exigences of the pictorial element in the spectacular masques.

Next, as to the floor of the Inner Stage, on which the masque was represented. This, it would seem, was raised two or three steps above the main stage; and it was, doubtless, covered, according to the usual practice in masques in the royal theatres, with some sort of green cloth or baize for the dancing. That this was so for the *Tempest* masque we have something more than custom to convince us. For the references in it to such a counterfeit plot of grass are too plain and frequent not to be unmistakeable. Thus:

Here on this *grass-plot*, in this very place,

says Iris when summoning Ceres; who, in answer, enquires:

Why hath thy Queen
Summoned me hither to this *short-grassed* green?

And Iris again, when calling the nymphs, bids them come to:

This *green land*.

Such pointed expressions, three times repeated, would scarcely have been used except of a physical feature patent to the eyes of the audience.

Next, as to the probable 'dressing' of the characters in the masque. These, there can be no doubt, appeared in appropriate costumes, something like those of the same personages in Daniel's 'Vision of the Twelve Goddesses,' already referred to. As described by that author himself, in his preface, Iris appeared 'deckt like a rainbow,' Ceres 'in a straw-colour and silver imbroidery, with eares of corne,' and a head-dress of the same and carrying a sickle. Juno was attired 'in a skie-colour mantle imbroidered with gold and figured with peacocks'

feathers, wearing a crown of gold on her head,' set with jewelled stars, and carrying a sceptre.

Thus staged, the masque, though adding nothing to the dramatic interest or poetic beauty of the play, must have greatly delighted the not very discriminating Court audience of 1613.

And now all that gave life and brilliance to that night's scene more than 300 years ago have passed into 'the dark backward and abysm of Time.' Of those who witnessed that performance the very names of most of them are forgotten. Only those of a very few of the small group, who formed the centre of the bright throng, now evoke even a faint echo. The Earl of Pembroke and his brother Montgomery are, it is true, still remembered: but why? Merely because they were 'the incomparable paire of brethren' to whom the First Folio was dedicated, and who share the eternal honour of having 'favoured the authour living.' Southampton was there: but who would trouble now about the comings and goings, or even the existence, of an Earl of Southampton, were he not known to have befriended the struggling actor and playwright William Shakespeare? And the King's son Henry—is he as much, or anything like as much to us to-day as 'the King's son Ferdinand'? The Princess Elizabeth, indeed, still awakens some thrill of emotion in us as that 'Queen of Hearts,' to whom Sir Henry Wotton addressed his beautiful poem—'Ye meaner beauties.' Yet how dim does her figure seem through the mists of the long years past, compared with her who through all ages will ever shine radiant—'so perfect and so peerless, created of every creature's best'—Miranda! King James, Salisbury and Northampton are gone, but Prospero, Gonzalo and Antonio still remain with us as living entities. As for Anne of Denmark, would not the world prefer that all memory of her should be blotted out, or that she had never lived, than that we should lose

a single speech of Caliban's? Alone of that night's audience Bacon lives with us and speaks to us, in his own writings, with something of the vividness, with which Prospero lives with us and speaks to us through Shakespeare's deathless page.

And this is our great dramatist's most wondrous triumph—that he has endowed these mere creatures of his imagination with a reality, a vividness, and a persistence, outliving and transcending the ever fading remembrance of all mortal beings.

Such, then, were the circumstances—so far as I have been able to reconstruct them from the old records—in which the *Tempest* was performed before the Court at Whitehall in the years 1611 and 1613. The indications may be considered to be slight, and not very precise. Yet, such as they are, they may, I hope, help towards the understanding of the problem to which I referred at the beginning of this article, and which is of great interest to all Shakespearean students, and of present practical moment to all those concerned—whether as spectators or producers or stage managers—in the acting of our great dramatist's plays to-day—namely, the mode of their presentation on the modern stage. Otherwise, in truth, what are all these old things and these ancient topics to us? Why go searching in musty records and faded parchments? Why go grubbing among the old foundations and broken walls of a long vanished palace, except that, by such means interpreting the past, we may be helped towards correct action in the present, which is ours, and which holds for us the priceless and ever-enduring treasures the poet has bequeathed to all mankind?

If then, by tracing out these exact circumstances, and, with such fragmentary matter as remains to us, we try to evoke a vision, as it were, of the surroundings in which Shakespeare's marvellous imaginings were originally set forth before the world, it is with the

hope also that we may thereby the better apprehend the pregnant thoughts and the inspiring truths, which, more and more, all men of every race, and of every clime, acclaim in the pages of him, who, more intensely than any other poet, moves vibrating the most intimate chords of the soul of man ; who, deeper than any other mortal being, has sounded the inmost recesses of the human heart. Halls and banqueting houses, stages and theatres, actors and spectators, what are they ? They all

Are melted into air, into thin air :
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind—

—even as the hand that wrote those words, and the brain that conceived the whole wonderful fabric of the plays, with their multitudinous pageantry of life, are alike dust in a narrow grave at Stratford.

Yet the poet's thoughts live on—the penetrating truths, the wide philosophy, the exquisite felicities and fancies, the enchanting rhythm and music of the verse—live on, and spread through all the nations of the globe ; become, indeed, for ever the universal heritage, stamped on the mind of man with an impress that will last as long as this world shall endure.

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